

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

POLICING AS TRAUMA

There is a growing body of literature that considers the effects of policing on the mental and physical health of people of color. The following articles examine the traumatic impact of policing on people of color. The studies are selected to expand our knowledge of the trauma associated with the disproportionate, unnecessary, and aggressive policing in communities of color, and to educate defenders, researchers, and policymakers who seek to dismantle or reform the systems that exacerbate physical and mental health inequities. For purposes of this bibliography, trauma is deeply distressing or disturbing experience that can be caused by a physical injury or a psychological stressor. The article summaries are drawn from the articles cited.

These articles are cited in reverse chronological order. Please find the most recent articles at the beginning of each section.

I. Impact of Policing on Adolescent Health and Identity

Amanda Geller, *Youth-Police Contact: Burdens and Inequities in an Adverse Childhood Experience, 2014-2017*, 111 Am. J. Public Health 1300 (2021).

Dylan B. Jackson, *The Case for Conceptualizing Youth-Police Contact as a Racialized Adverse Childhood Experience*, 111 Am. J. Public Health 1189 (2021).

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Unpacking Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Emotional Distress Among Adolescents During Witnessed Police Stops*, 69 J. Adolesc. Health 248 (2021).

Chad Posick and Akiv Dawson, *The Health Outcomes of Direct and Witnessed Interactions with the Police: Do Race and Ethnicity Matter*, 69 J. Adolesc. Health 183 (2021).

Mike Males, *Police Shooting Statistics of Unarmed Suspects Show the Young More Likely to Be Killed*, Juvenile Justice Information Exchange, February 11, 2021.

Gia Badolato et al., *Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Firearm-Related Pediatric Deaths Related to Legal Intervention*, 146(6) Pediatrics (2020).

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Police Stops and Sleep Behaviors Among At-Risk Youth*, J. Nat. Sleep Foundation (2020).

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Police Stops Among At-Risk Youth: Repercussions for Mental Health*, 65 J. Adolescent Health 627 (2019).

Dylan B. Jackson, Alexander Testa, and Michael G. Vaughn, *Low Self-Control and Adolescent Police Stop: Intrusiveness, Emotional Response, and Psychological Well-Being*, 66 J. Crim. Justice (2019).

Juan Del Toro et al., *The Criminogenic and Psychological Effects of Police Stops on Adolescent Black and Latino Boys*, 116 PNAS, 8261 (2019).

Brendesha M. Tynes et al., *Race-Related Traumatic Events Online and Mental Health Among Adolescents of Color*, 65 J. Adolescent Health 371 (2019).

Ana Lilia Campos-Manzo et al., *Unjustified: Youth of Color Navigating Police Presence Across Sociospatial Environments*, 10(3) Race and Justice 297 (2018).

Michelle E. Chen, *Mass Incarceration and Adolescent Development: Connecting Identity and Trauma in Black Adolescent Males*, Child Development Theses at Sarah Lawrence College (2018).

Zuleka Henderson, *In Their Own Words: 12 How Black Teens Define Trauma*, J. of Child and Adolescent Trauma 141 (2017).

Nikki Jones, *“The Regular Routine”: Proactive Policing an Adolescent Development Among Young, Poor Black Men*, 143 New Directions Child and Adolescent Dev. 33 (2014).

Amber J. Landers et al., *Police Contacts and Stress Among African American College Students*, 81 Am. J. Orthopsychiatry 72 (2011).

II. Impact of Policing on Adult Health

Susan A. Bandes, Marie Pryor, Erin M. Kerrison, Phillip Atiba Goff, *The Mismeasure of Terry Stops: Assessing the Psychological and Emotional Harms of Stop and Frisk to Individuals and Communities*, 37 Behav. Sci. Law 176 (2019).

Jacob Bor et al., *Police Killings and their Spillover Effects on the Mental Health of Black Americans: A Population-Based, Quasi-Experimental Study*, 392 The Lancet 1 (2018).

Naomi F. Sugie & Kristin Turney, *Beyond Incarceration: Criminal Justice Contact and Mental Health*, 82 Am. Soc. Rev. 719 (2017).

Sirry Alang et al., *Police Brutality and Black Health: Setting the Agenda for Public Health Scholars*, 107(5) Am. J. Pub. Health 662-665 (2017).

Thema Bryant-Davis et al., *The Trauma Lens of Police Violence against Racial and Ethnic Minorities*, 73(4) J. Soc. Iss. 852-871 (2017).

Abigail A. Sewell & Kevin Jefferson, *Collateral Damage: The Health Effects of Invasive Police Encounters in New York City*, 93 J. Urb. Health 42-67 (2016).

Abigail A. Sewell et al., *Living Under Surveillance: Gender, Psychological Distress, and Stop-Question-and-Frisk Policing in New York City*, 159 Soc. Sci. Med. 1-13 (2016).

Amanda Geller et al., *Aggressive Policing and the Mental Health of Young Urban Men*, 104(12) Am. J. Pub. Health 2321–2327 (2014).

I. IMPACT OF POLICING ON ADOLESCENT HEALTH & IDENTITY

Amanda Geller, *Youth-Police Contact: Burdens and Inequities in an Adverse Childhood Experience, 2014-2017*, 111 Am. J. Public Health 1300 (2021).

Purpose

- To assess police contact with youth in urban-areas across the United States as a potential adverse childhood experience by measuring its frequency, nature, and distribution among urban adolescents.

Methodology

- Youth involved in this research were enrolled in the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (FFCWS).
 - FFCWS followed 4,898 children born in 20 large cities between 1998 and 2000.
 - Out of those 4,898 children, 3,442 were urban births, and out of those urban born, 2,478 were interviewed at year 15 (Y15); it is this sample of youth that make-up the present study.
 - The resulting sample was socioeconomically disadvantaged with high proportions of Black and Hispanic families and high rates of criminal justice involvement.
 - Adolescent demographics were placed into five categories (white, Black, Hispanic, other race, and multiple races).
- The survey measured several aspects of adolescents' experiences with the police by asking them a series of questions, including whether they had personally been stopped or whether they had vicarious police contact.
- Adolescents personally stopped provided details pertaining to their experiences, including the number of stops they experienced, their age when first stopped, and officer behavior in the stop which most stood out in their mind ("critical stop").
- Adolescents were also asked to self-report their participation in delinquent activities over the past year. Analyses adjusted for adolescents' self-reported behavior, meaning the below results are not likely due to differences in youth behavior.

Results

- Urban youth are heavily policed, beginning as early as junior high school.
 - 19% of adolescents reported having been stopped by the police while 69% reported vicarious contact.
 - Police exposure through vicarious contact was common across race, with most Black, white, and Hispanic adolescents reporting.
 - In experiences of being personally stopped by police, however, racial disparities were pronounced.
 - Black boys and girls were far more likely than their white counterparts to report being personally stopped:
 - 39% of Black boys and 14% of Black girls compared to 23% of white Boys and 10% of white girls.
 - Racial disparities were most evident in officer intrusion during the critical stop and were most pronounced among boys:
 - Two-thirds of Black and Hispanic boys reported intrusion (such as frisks, harsh language, racial slurs, threats or use of physical force, and handcuffing) in their critical stops while less than one quarter of white boys had similar experiences.
 - Although police intrusion was less frequent among girls, when it did occur, it was primarily reported by Black girls and was essentially nonexistent for white girls.
 - Black boys had odds of reporting police contact more than twice those of white boys.
- Considering the pronounced racial disparities in officer intrusion during “critical stops,” research suggests that police encounters with non-white adolescents are qualitatively different, and substantially more aggressive than those with white adolescents, and potentially traumatic.
- Notably, disparities were concentrated among children of less educated mothers, and not observed among the children of college graduate mothers. This finding is in contrast to previous research that has found racial disparities in policing of youth with high socioeconomic status.
- The continual and extensive exposure to aggressive policing faced by young people, particularly Black and Hispanic youth, have the potential to impact their immediate and long-term physical and mental health well beyond the effects currently documented.
- The researcher concludes by arguing that because aggressive police contact is so common in the lives of Black and Hispanic urban youth, early police contact should be designated as an ACE in order to provide institutional recognition (particularly in mental and physical healthcare and education) of the potential for harm in police encounters and draw on an established literature and policy and practice framework for the prevention, identification, and treatment of these harms.

Dylan B Jackson, *The Case for Conceptualizing Youth-Police Contact as a Racialized Adverse Childhood Experience*, 111 Am. J. Public Health 1189 (2021).

- This editorial article connects the above study by Amanda Geller (*Youth-Police Contact: Burdens and Inequities in an Adverse Childhood Experience*) to additional research on the traumatic impact of policing on youth of color, arguing that curtailing the hyper-surveillance of Black youth and bolstering community infrastructure (such as community centers, after-school and youth empowerment programs) are urgent public health necessities.
- Encounters with police are traumatic for Black youth and are internalized by youth as “extremely frightening, harmful, or threatening” and can potentially cause adverse physiological symptoms.
- Police-induced trauma is, in many respects, its own class of trauma; it is set apart as a uniquely potent historical, racialized, intergenerational form of trauma that is affixed to a collective experience of marginalization.
- Better assessment tools, such as a culturally informed adverse childhood experiences (C-ACE) framework, are needed to identify and respond to the traumatic impact of policing in the lives of Black youth.
- Additional research must be done to identify the policy and programmatic solutions to mitigate the trauma of racialized police encounters, including equipping teachers to facilitate non-stigmatizing, culturally competent conversations about these experiences in ways that provide support and prevent re-traumatization.

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Unpacking Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Emotional Distress Among Adolescents During Witnessed Police Stops*, 69 J. Adolesc. Health 248 (2021).

Purpose

- To investigate the racial/ethnic disparities in emotional distress during witnessed police stops among a national sample of urban-born youth.

Methodology

- The sample comes from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (FFCWS), which is a national study of roughly 4,800 urban youth born between 1998 and 2000.
- Due to the data collection methods of FFCWS, many of the youth come from single-parent homes with disproportionate exposure to various hardships, including family members intimately acquainted with the justice system and various kinds of police encounters.
- Out of the 4,800-youth involved in the study, 1,488 of them reported having witnessed police stops between 2014 and 2017. These 1,488 youth are the focal point of the present study.
- Among the 1,488 youth, 17.21% were white, 26.88% were Hispanic, 48.19% were Black, 5.31% were multiracial and 2.41% reported another race/ethnicity.
- These youth completed surveys to measure emotional distress, officer intrusiveness, and perceptions of procedural injustice, asking
 - At the time of the incident (i.e. the witnessed stop), did you feel: 1. Scared, 2. Angry, 3. Safe

- Did the officer: 1. Frisk them or pat them down, 2. Search their bags or pockets, 3. Use harsh language, 4. Use racial slurs, 5. Threaten physical force, 6. Use physical force
- How often in the incidents you witnessed did the police 1. Explain why they stopped the person in a way that was clear to them, 2. Treat them with dignity and courtesy, and 3. Respect their rights

Results

- Out of the sampled 1,488 youth, greater emotional distress existed among youth of color, particularly multiracial, Black and Hispanic youth.
- This emotional distress stemmed primarily from acts of officer intrusiveness and what youth perceived as procedurally unjust treatment of citizens during observed stops.
- Multiracial and Black youth were most frequently exposed to intrusive treatment during witnessed stops; 27% and 28% of multiracial youth witnessed threats of force and use of force, respectively, whereas only 9% and 14% of white youth witnessed threats of force and use of force, respectively.
- During witnessed police stops, 22% of Black youth and 23% of multiracial youth reported feeling angry whereas only 9% of white youth reported similar feelings; 28% of Black youth and 31% of multiracial youth reported feeling unsafe compared to only 11% of white youth.
- Odds of emotional distress during witnessed police stops greatly increase among youth of color; relative to white youth, Hispanic youth were 101% more likely to feel angry during stops and Black youth were 138% more likely to feel angry; This trend continues in youth feeling unsafe during witnessed stops – relative to white youth, the odds of feeling unsafe during the stop were 72% higher among Hispanic youth, 117% higher among Black youth and 152% higher among multiracial youth.

Chad Posick and Akiv Dawson, *The Health Outcomes of Direct and Witnessed Interactions with the Police: Do Race and Ethnicity Matter*, 69 J. Adolesc. Health 183 (2021).

- This article discusses how even the most routine police interactions can have profound impacts on an individual and in some cases even lead to “psychological distress, depression, anxiety, and suicidal behavior.”
- Negative health and behavioral outcomes are not limited to direct police encounters but also include indirect encounters, i.e., exposure through media such as the Rodney King beating or the George Floyd murder, or observing a negative encounter involving a family member or friend.
- Research indicates that negative and/or unwelcomed police encounters exist as part of the shared cultural memory of Black Americans that is passed down from one generation to the next. This ingrained cultural memory contributes to the cumulative trauma experienced by the community.
- Memories of these negative prior events become cultural forces imbedded with collective meaning. They become metaphorical representations of a “continuation of violence experienced by the whole community.”

- Research suggests that policies and programs can potentially limit the increasingly negative health consequences that come from police interactions; these include: 1) screening for both bodily and mental health symptoms by professionals who typically come in contact with youth often, 2) Trauma-informed trainings for police officers, 3) Moving away from intrusive police practices.

Mike Males, *Police Shooting Statistics of Unarmed Suspects Show the Young More Likely to Be Killed*, Juvenile Justice Information Exchange, February 11, 2021.

Methodology

- The Juvenile Justice Information Exchange analyzed data collected and reported by the Washington Post (considered the most complete tabulation of shootings by American law enforcement officers) in the six-year period from January 1, 2015 through January 13, 2021.

Findings

- Even when suspects are unarmed and not attacking anyone, officers are more likely to shoot Black, Native, and Latinx people than white people. Police are two to three times more likely to shoot Native and Black suspects, and 20% more likely to shoot Latinx suspects than white suspects.
- Police are much more likely to shoot unarmed, nonattacking young people than older people. Unarmed, non-attacking teenagers are nearly five times more likely to be shot to death by officers than similarly non-attacking middle-aged suspects.
- An unarmed, non-attacking white teenager is eight times more likely and a similarly non-attacking Latinx teenager is ten times more likely to be shot by police than a non-attacking member of their respective races age 50 or older.
- However, unarmed, non-attacking Black suspects age 50 and older are just as likely to be shot as similarly unarmed, non-attacking Black teenagers.

Gia Badolato et al., *Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Firearm-Related Pediatric Deaths Related to Legal Intervention*, 146(6) Pediatrics (2020).

Purpose

- To measure racial and ethnic differences in adolescent mortality rates related to firearm injury from law enforcement over a 16-year period.

Methodology

- Researchers utilized data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention Web-Based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System (WISQARS), which collects data from death certificates.
- The data set included adolescents aged 12 to 17 years who died from firearm injury from legal intervention from 2003 to 2018.

- During the 16-year study period, 140 adolescents died by legal intervention and of those deaths 131 (92%) involved a firearm. The majority (93.18%) were boys with a mean age 15.94.

Results

- 41.98% of youth killed were Black, compared to 26.52% white and 26.71% Hispanic.
- Black and Hispanic youth are disproportionate victims in fatal police shootings.

Relevance

- Black and Hispanic youth have greater reason to fear police compared to white youth because they are killed by police shootings at disproportionate rates.
- As an ongoing public health crisis, it is critical that interventions and policies are implemented to mitigate these tragedies.

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Police Stops and Sleep Behaviors Among At-Risk Youth*, J. Nat. Sleep Foundation (2020).

Purpose

- This study examines the association between exposure to police stops and sleep behaviors and explores whether social stigma and post-traumatic stress might inform this association.

Methodology

- A sample of 3,444 U.S. youth were studied. Youth reported their sleep quantity and quality, exposure to vicarious and direct police stops, police intrusiveness during police stops, and experiences of social stigma and post-traumatic stress following the stop.

Results

- Stress caused by frequent police stops actually deprives youth of sleep.
- Youth who reported exposure to police stops exhibited significantly greater odds of sleep deprivation and low sleep quality.
- Even when youth are bystanders or witness the more subtly abusive police behaviors, they still experience trauma that lowers both the quality of their sleep and the number of hours.
- This association was attenuated to non-significance when social stigma and post-traumatic stress following the stop were taken into account.

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Police Stops Among At-Risk Youth: Repercussions for Mental Health*, 65 J. Adolescent Health 627 (2019).

Purpose

- This study examines the mental health consequences of police interactions on Black and Hispanic at-risk youth who report being stopped at least once by the police.

Methodology

- The average age of the participants was fifteen years old.

- Participants reported their level of emotional distress during the stop, feelings of social stigma after the stop, and posttraumatic stress symptoms after the stop.

Results

- Youth more frequently stopped by police are more likely to report heightened emotional distress and post-traumatic stress symptoms than youth who are not stopped as frequently.
- Age at first stop did not impact mental health outcomes.
- The environment in which the youth is stopped predicts mental health outcomes. More specifically, youth who were stopped at school reported more emotional distress during the stop, social stigma after the stop, and PTSD after the stop than youth who were stopped on the street.
- Similarly, the level of intrusiveness of the stop predicted the youths' mental health responses: the more intrusive the stop, the greater the youths' emotional distress, social stigma, and PTSD symptoms.

Dylan B. Jackson, Alexander Testa, and Michael G. Vaughn, *Low Self-Control and Adolescent Police Stop: Intrusiveness, Emotional Response, and Psychological Well-Being*, 66 J. Crim. Justice (2019).

Purpose

- This research extends the literature on both Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) self-control theory and adolescent police stops by exploring the role of low self-control in the features and consequences of police stops among urban-born youth.

Results

- Youth with lower levels of self-control are more likely to be stopped by police and more likely to experience greater emotional distress and social stigma from police stops.
- Black youth were prone to more intrusive and hostile interactions with police.
- Among stopped youth, those with lower levels of self-control were more likely to
 - be stopped multiple times and in multiple locations (particularly at school);
 - report more procedural injustice and officer intrusiveness; and
 - experience greater emotional distress during police encounters and social stigma and post- traumatic stress following encounters.

Juan Del Toro et al., *The Criminogenic and Psychological Effects of Police Stops on Adolescent Black and Latino Boys*, 116 PNAS, 8261 (2019).

Purpose

- This study explores the short and long-term effects of police contact on young people subjected to high rates of contact with law enforcement.

Methodology

- The study included Black and Latino boys in ninth and tenth grade.

- Psychological distress measures included stress-related symptoms (e.g. “I found it hard to wind down”), depressive symptoms (e.g. “I felt downhearted and blue”), and anxiety symptoms (“I felt I was close to panic”).

Results

- Adolescent Black and Latino boys who were stopped by police reported more frequent engagement in delinquent behavior six, twelve, and eighteen months later than boys who were not stopped by the police (independent of prior delinquency).
- The relationship between police-encounter and subsequent delinquency was mediated, at least in part, by the psychological distress these youth experience due to police stops.
 - In other words, stops cause stress which causes delinquent behavior.
- Adolescents who experienced more frequent police stops reported greater concurrent distress and greater concurrent delinquency than adolescents who experienced less frequent police stops.
- The relationship between initial police-stop and future delinquency was stronger in the younger boys were when stopped for the first time.

Brendesha M. Tynes et al., *Race-Related Traumatic Events Online and Mental Health Among Adolescents of Color*, 65 J. Adolescent Health 371 (2019).

Purpose

- This study assesses whether viewing race-related traumatic events online (TEO) was associated with depressive and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms.

Methodology

- The national sample included 302 African American and Latinx adolescents between 11–19 years old.
- The TEOs included: seeing images or videos of others from their ethnic group being beaten, arrested or detained, and a viral video of a Black person being shot by a police officer.

Results

- There is a significant association between TEO and both PTSD symptoms and depressive symptoms.
- Participants reported depressive symptoms such as “being sad,” “feeling like crying,” “feeling alone,” and “feeling like they had friends.”
- PTSD symptoms included re-experiencing, hyperarousal, and numbing.
- Viewing each type of TEO was associated with reporting PTSD symptoms. Additionally, more frequently viewing TEOs was associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms and PTSD symptoms.

Ana Lilia Campos-Manzo et al., *Unjustified: Youth of Color Navigating Police Presence Across Sociospatial Environments*, 10(3) Race and Justice 297 (2018).

Purpose

- To explore how nondelinquent adolescents of color experience police presence across a racially/ethnically and socioeconomically segregated metropolitan area in the U.S.
- *Note:* This study does not explicitly measure trauma, but does assess and compare African American and Latino/a youth's perception of the police.

Methodology

- This study included 84 nondelinquent boys and girls of color, specifically 41 boys and 43 girls, ages 9–17, of African American, Latino/a, Jamaican-American, Nigerian/Saint Lucian, and multiracial/ethnic descent.
- The study conducted semi-structured interviews at four community youth centers.
- Interviewers asked questions like: What do you think about this place? What have been your experiences with peers? What about adults? What did you think about the situation [that involved the police]? How did you feel? Have there been other similar situations?

Results

- Nondelinquent adolescents of color experienced police presence as surveillance and as response to crime in gendered and racialized ways across segregated cities and suburbs in Evergreen, South Carolina.
- In Downtown Greenville, a predominantly Latina/Latino, African American, and Jamaican American segment of the city, with high levels of poverty and police presence, boys of color experienced intense police surveillance, including harassment and a negative focus with no clear investigative purpose. Both boys and girls of color state they experienced police failing to address victimization, and choosing instead to focus on illicit substances/drugs use and the presence of all-terrain vehicles (ATVs) on the streets.
- In West Greenville, a predominantly white population and high socioeconomic indicators, youth experienced policing as protective and as a response to disputes in the neighborhood.
- In East Greenville and the suburbs, the racially/ethnically and socioeconomically diverse city and predominantly white suburbs with high socioeconomic indicators, the adolescents experienced “officer friendly” and “calm” areas with almost no police presence.

Relevance

- Policing is most prevalent and persistent in the lives of youth of color.

Michelle E. Chen, *Mass Incarceration and Adolescent Development: Connecting Identity and Trauma in Black Adolescent Males*, Child Development Theses at Sarah Lawrence College (2018).

Purpose

- This thesis explores the impact of mass incarceration and over-policing on Black adolescent development and identity formation. It is particularly focused on identity and self worth in Black adolescents.

Methodology

- The author worked with people affected by mass incarceration as a middle school counselor and a student in a six-year graduate program. The stories from the children she worked with informed this thesis.

Results

- For young Black men, messages of reduced self-worth and diminished value resulting from over-policing reinforce negative images of the self.
- The thesis compiles research on adolescent cognitive development demonstrating that teens are not able to make informed decisions like adults because of how their brains function.
- The experience of incarceration, paired with the lack of rehabilitative services, leads to long-lasting trauma for Black boys who are incarcerated at a young age.
- Trauma impacts self-worth, which is particularly damaging when the brain is still developing. Trauma can leave youth with a low sense of self-worth, poor self-esteem, and identity confusion. Adolescents also feel shame and guilt as a result of their trauma and experience impaired ability to form or maintain relationships with peers. Without support and the ability to manage intense emotions, many youth engage in self-harm, substance abuse, or criminal activity.

Zuleka Henderson, *In Their Own Words: How 12 Black Teens Define Trauma*, J. of Child and Adolescent Trauma 141 (2017).

Purpose & Methodology

- This is a qualitative study that explores the concept of trauma from the perspectives of 12 low-income Black teens.
- The researcher asserts that because perception plays a critical role in distinguishing a traumatic experience and its impact, it is important to explore how Black youth characterize trauma *in their own terms* instead of relying solely on established clinical criteria as the metric for identifying and evaluating trauma.
- The findings present important implications for the development of more culturally and developmentally inclusive discussions of trauma and for clinical practice with low-income, Black youth who are impacted by trauma and adversity.

Results

- Participants' descriptions included death and loss, exposure to violence, police harassment, racism and discrimination, poverty, being stuck in "the hood," and being bullied.
- Participants highlighted traumatic factors that are not enumerated in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders.
- Dealing with death and loss emerged as the most prominent dimension associated with trauma. All 12 participants described that Black teens from their neighborhoods commonly lose parents, siblings, and friends to violence and incarceration or lose other family members to health challenges, including cancer. While acknowledging that death was a part of life, participants talked about death and loss as a hardship for Black youth in their communities because of the frequency with which it happens and because of the negative impact that it has on teens to repeatedly deal with mourning the loss of loved ones.

- Several participants identified negative interactions with the police among the major sources of trauma or hardship for Black teens in their communities. One youth described that police commonly approach Black youth and force them to disperse from areas where they gather to socialize. Others indicated that police frequently question youth from their communities and treat them as if they are guilty, without probable cause.

Nikki Jones, “*The Regular Routine*”: Proactive Policing an Adolescent Development Among Young, Poor Black Men, 143 *New Directions Child and Adolescent Dev.* 33 (2014).

Purpose & Methodology

- In this study, the author conducted a series of interviews with adult and adolescent Black men to examine the effects of policing on their sense of self.
- Participants were part of Brothers Changing the Hood, a San Francisco-based nonprofit organization that aims to influence Black men in the neighborhood and help them stay away from violence and the criminal justice system.

Results

- For poor, young Black men who live in high-surveillance neighborhoods, police contact is a routine feature of their adolescent lives.
- Routine police interaction injures a young person's sense of self, especially when these interactions occur during adolescence.
- Because adolescence is typically marked by increased psychological autonomy in that “individuals begin to explore and examine psychological characteristics of their self in order to discover who they really are,” an adolescent’s interaction with authoritarian figures that are often degrading and dehumanizing informs his beliefs about “who he is, who he can become, his commitment to mainstream society, and, ultimately, his beliefs in the fairness and legitimacy of policing.” Thus, vicarious exposure to policing reaffirms Black youth's negative attitudes towards the police and results in secondary shame and degradation.

Amber J. Landers et al., *Police Contacts and Stress Among African American College Students*, 81 *Am. J. Orthopsychiatry* 72 (2011).

Purpose & Methodology

- This study focuses on attitudes toward police by Black undergraduate students (66 women, 35 men) ages 16 to 21.
- They rated the frequency and stressfulness of 83 general, college-related, race-related, and police-related events (e.g. “being pulled over”, “witnessing police conduct search without good reason” or a “loved one being pulled over”). For each stress item, participants rated the frequency of occurrence within the last two years and rated the event's stressfulness.

Results

- More passive and non-problematic police contact, such as witnessing a person request assistance from the police, was associated with lower stress levels.

- By contrast, more harmful contact with the police, such as witnessing the police use excessive force during an arrest, was associated with greater stress levels.
 - Vicarious contact produced similar stress levels as direct contact.
 - Greater frequency of police contact correlated with greater stress across all types of police contact, regardless of intrusiveness. In other words, even innocuous treatment by police, if frequent, increased participants' stress levels.
 - Male college students reported significantly greater stress across all types of police contact than did their female counterparts.
 - Researchers measured participants' "ethnic centrality," or the degree to which participants' considered their ethnicity an important part of how they define themselves.
 - Greater centrality of ethnic identity was associated with less stress for benign police contacts. This finding was consistent with those of other studies that suggest that elements of ethnic identity may act as a buffer to depression and psychological distress.
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II. IMPACT OF POLICING ON ADULT HEALTH

Susan A. Bandes, Marie Pryor, Erin M. Kerrison, Phillip Atiba Goff, *The Mismeasure of Terry Stops: Assessing the Psychological and Emotional Harms of Stop and Frisk to Individuals and Communities*, 37 Behav. Sci. Law 176 (2019).

- This article highlights the robust social science literature on the effects of *Terry* stops on people of color, both immediately and over time, and on communities as a whole.
 - *Terry* stops subject individuals to harassment and have negative physical, emotional, and psychological effects. Stops and frisks are especially traumatizing for people with disabilities, mental illness, and histories of sexual trauma.
 - Youth experience psychological harm and feelings of resentment toward police after *Terry* stops.
 - *Terry* stops create distrust of law enforcement and discourage cooperation with the police, which can harm the overall safety of communities.
 - The authors recommend that stakeholders re-evaluate the consequences of the *Terry* regime. In *Terry*, the Supreme Court balanced the contribution of "stop and frisk" to effective crime prevention against the impact of the intrusion on individual rights. The harm caused by current stop and frisk practices outweighs any minimal benefit such stops may contribute to public safety
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Jacob Bor et al., *Police Killings and their Spillover Effects on the Mental Health of Black Americans: A Population-Based, Quasi-Experimental Study*, 392 The Lancet 1 (2018).

Purpose & Methodology

- This study examines the effects of police killings on the mental health of people who are not directly affected.

- Combines data on police killings with individual-level data from the 2013-15 US Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System to estimate the causal impact of police killings of unarmed Black Americans on self-reported mental health of other Black American adults in the US.

Results

- 38,993 of 103,710 Black American respondents were exposed to one or more police killings of unarmed Black people in the prior 3 months. The largest effects on mental health occurred in the 1-2 months after exposure.
- Police killings of unarmed Black Americans have adverse effects on the mental health (including stress, depression and anxiety, and problems with emotions) of Black adults in the general population.

Naomi F. Sugie & Kristin Turney, *Beyond Incarceration: Criminal Justice Contact and Mental Health*, 82 Am. Soc. Rev. 719 (2017).

Purpose

- This study examines how various types of criminal justice contact—arrest, conviction, and incarceration—impacts young adults' mental health.

Methodology

- Participants included non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic Black, and Hispanic youths who had contact with the criminal justice system. The average age was twenty-four years.
- Researchers asked participants to rate on a scale of 1-4 (where 1 meant “all of the time,” 2 meant “most of the time,” 3 meant “some of the time,” and 4 meant “none of the time”) how often within the past month they felt nervous, calm and peaceful, downhearted and blue, happy, and “so down in the dumps that nothing could cheer them up.”
- Researchers took the average of each participant’s answers to determine each participant’s overall mental health. Answers for “calm and peaceful” and “happy” were reverse-coded, so the higher average values indicated poorer mental health.

Results

- Arrests, independent of conviction and incarceration, was associated with worse mental health—meaning, participants felt more nervous, downhearted, and blue, and less calm, peaceful, and happy.
- Further, arrests were cumulatively related to mental health; in other words, each arrest incrementally contributed to poorer mental health.
- Incarceration, independent of arrest and conviction, was associated with poor mental health. Moreover, the type of incarceration mattered: both current and pretrial incarceration were associated with poorer mental health. Recent incarceration and incarceration with conviction were not associated with poorer mental health.

Sirry Alang et al., *Police Brutality and Black Health: Setting the Agenda for Public Health Scholars*, 107(5) Am. J. Pub. Health 662-665 (2017).

- This article investigates the link between police brutality and poor health outcomes among Blacks and argues that public health scholars must prioritize generating evidence of the causal relationship between police brutality and health inequities and seeking solutions.
- The article focused on five pathways:
 - (1) fatal injuries that increase population-specific mortality rates;
 - (2) adverse physiological responses that increase morbidity;
 - (3) racist public reactions that cause stress;
 - (4) arrests, incarcerations, and legal, medical, and funeral bills that cause financial strain; and
 - (5) integrated oppressive structures that cause systematic disempowerment.
- Police killings increase Black-specific mortality rates. Even though only two percent of injuries from police interventions that require treatment in the emergency department or hospital result in death, Blacks are almost five times more likely than whites to have a police intervention-related injury.
- Experiencing or witnessing police brutality, hearing stories of friends who have experienced brutality, and having to worry about becoming a victim are all psychological stressors.
- “One example of a racist public reaction that might cause stress is arguing that victims were somehow responsible for their own untimely murders—dissecting the guilt or innocence of the murdered persons versus understanding how white supremacy might have caused this.”
- Police brutality affects individual and community health through its toll on productivity and on the economy. In addition to job loss after incarceration, survivors of brutality may have to deal with disabilities resulting from police use of excessive force.
- Excessive police force and inadequate prosecution of perpetrators may increase feelings of powerlessness in the Black community.

Thema Bryant-Davis et al., *The Trauma Lens of Police Violence against Racial and Ethnic Minorities*, 73(4) J. Soc. Iss. 852-871 (2017).

- This article explores the available scholarship focused on police brutality perpetrated against racial and ethnic minorities from the lens of trauma studies.
- It conducts a review of the psychological literature by searching terms such as police brutality, police violence, race-based traumatic stress, racist-incident– based trauma, racism and trauma, intergenerational trauma, and complex trauma.
- The potential psychological consequences for the direct and indirect targets of racially and ethnically motivated police brutality may include, but are not limited to, distrust, fear, anger, shame, PTSD, isolation, and self-destructive behaviors.

Abigail A. Sewell & Kevin Jefferson, *Collateral Damage: The Health Effects of Invasive Police Encounters in New York City*, 93 J. Urb. Health 42-67 (2016).

Purpose

- This study evaluates the associations between invasive aspects of pedestrian stops and multiple dimensions of poor health.

Results

- Living in neighborhoods where pedestrian stops are more likely to become invasive is associated with worse health.
- Living in neighborhoods where stops are more likely to result in frisking show the most consistent negative associations.
- Minorities who live in neighborhoods with a wider ethno-racial disparity in police behavior have poorer health outcomes in most respects.
- Stops generally worsen the health of Blacks and Latinos relative to whites and Asians.

Abigail A. Sewell et al., *Living Under Surveillance: Gender, Psychological Distress, and Stop-Question-and-Frisk Policing in New York City*, 159 Soc. Sci. Med. 1-13 (2016).

Purpose & Methodology

- This study highlights the collateral consequences of mass incarceration, including stop-and-frisk policing tactics.
- It examines whether there is an association between psychological distress and neighborhood-level aggressive policing such as frisking and use of force by police, and whether that association varies by gender.

Results

- While the neighborhood stop rate exhibits inconsistent associations with psychological distress, neighborhood-level frisk and use of force proportions are linked to higher levels of non-specific psychological distress among men, but not women.
- Specifically, men exhibit more non-specific psychological distress and more severe feelings of nervousness, effort, and worthlessness in aggressively surveilled neighborhoods than do women.
- Male residents are affected by the escalation of stop-and-frisk policing in a neighborhood. Living in a context of aggressive policing is an important risk factor for men's mental health.

Amanda Geller et al., *Aggressive Policing and the Mental Health of Young Urban Men*, 104(12) Am. J. Pub. Health 2321–2327 (2014).

Purpose & Methodology

- This study surveyed young men aged 18 to 26 years in New York City on their police encounter experiences and subsequent mental health.
- Respondents reported how many times they were approached by New York Police Department officers, what these encounters entailed, any trauma they attributed to the stops, and their overall anxiety.

Results

- Young men reporting police contact, particularly more intrusive contact, displayed higher levels of anxiety and trauma associated with their experiences.
 - Anxiety symptoms were significantly related to the number of times the young men were stopped and to how they perceived the critical encounter was conducted.
 - Respondents who reported more lifetime stops experienced more trauma symptoms. Trauma levels were also significantly higher among public housing residents.
 - Stop intrusion remained a statistically significant predictor of PTSD.
- Observed health implications were strongest in the most intrusive encounters.